The Christian Socialist

The Golden Rule Against the Rule of Gold

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At Last Milwaukee Wins the Victory

One of the Largest Cities in America Is Swept by Socialists—A General City Officials and Big Majority of Aldermen Elected by Followers f the Red Flag on Square Revolutionary Issues

A witty woman once introduced Victor L. Berger to a Chicago audience in the following facetious manner: "You have all heard of what 'made Milwaukee famous.' I have the honor to-night to introduce the man who has often made Milwaukee furious." But now that same Milwaukee has just elected the whole Socialist ticket by overwhelming majorities, including Berger as one of the aldermen at large. And it is Milwaukee that has changed, not Berger.

The history of the Socialist struggle and growth in Milwaukee is one of the most thrilling chapters of American history. Largeness of vision, wisdom of tactics, ceaseless effort, heroism and solidarity have characterized the Socialist movement in Milwaukee for years. With the same qualities and tactics the Socialists might have captured any other, yea, all other large manufacturing towns in this country; and when the comrades elsewhere learn thoroughly the "Wisconsin idea" and practice they will also win.

And while we mingle our tears, shouts and laughter with those of the brave and faithful men and women whose ceaseless toil, self-sacrifice and enthusiasm made this notable victory possible and certain, we crown them victors not by chance, and not by the merit of their great cause only, but also by their own matchless wisdom and fidelity. They have always the counsels of the whole nation how to win. [illegible] will not win in a day, nor a year. It came to mark a sudden whim on the part of the people of Milwaukee. For many years the Socialist vote has steadily grown as a result of ceaseless educational efforts. Several years ago the Socialists elected six aldermen, then nine, then twelve. Becoming alarmed the capitalists passed a law through the legislature permitting Milwaukee to elect only one alderman from each ward and the remainder at large. This reduced the Socialist representation to six aldermen, but at the next election they carried three more wards, and two years ago two more, making eleven in all. Now they have carried fifteen wards and also elected the aldermen at large with all the general city officials by majorities of over seven thousand, having cast nearly half of the entire vote.

The Socialists are in complete control, so far as a municipality can govern itself under the laws of Wisconsin and the United States. They are not inexperienced. For several years they have been "making good" in the City Council, on the Board of Education and in some county offices. They will make good now and Milwaukee will have by far the best administration any large American city ever knew.

And this victory was not won by fusion. They did not *unite* with the capitalist parties; they *exposed* them and *smashed* them. Nor was it won on any mere *socialistic* compromise. The Wisconsin movement has ever been thoroughly revolutionary. In this election "the red flag," "extreme revolution," "destruction of American institutions," etc., were the slogans of the capitalist parties against them, yet the Socialists joyfully accepted the issue they had always insisted on and the people preferred the red flag of social revolution toward righteousness, freedom and plenty to the *black flag* of capitalist piracy. The issue was as clear and square as it could ever be, and the working people won on lines of the class struggle.

It will be noticed that the Socialists carried several wards by very large majorities and that their opponents barely won in several. Two years from now, after the Socialists have had a chance to show their mettle, the greatest test will come.

Already the whole American Socialist movement is the stronger for this great and glorious victory.

Statistical Report

In general terms the Socialists received about 28,000 votes, the Democrats about 21,000, and the Republicans about 12,000. The following statistical report is taken from the *Chicago Daily Socialist*:

CITY TICKET.

Mayor—Emil Seidel, Soc., 7,109 plur.
Controller—Carl P. Dietz, Soc., 6,234 plur.
Treasurer—C. B. Whitnall, Soc., 7,267 plur.
Attorney—Daniel W. Hoan, Soc., 7,329 plur.

ALDERMEN AT LARGE.
(Full Term)

1—Albert J. Welch, Soc., 6,324 plur.
3—Victor Berger, Soc., 6,215 plur.
2—William John Alldridge, Soc., 6,264 plur.
4—Joseph Sultaire, Soc., 6,259 plur.
5—Ben P. Churchill, Soc., 6,242 plur.
6—William Coleman, Soc., 6,190 plur.

ALDERMAN AT LARGE.
(Short Term)

1—Martin Gorecki, Soc., 6,137 plur.

LOCAL ALDERMEN.

First—Fred Braun, Dem., 48 plur.
Second—Paul F. Dick, Dem., 6 plur.
Third—Cornelius Corcoran, Dem., 955 maj.
Fourth—William J. O'Malley, Dem., 566 plur.
Fifth—Martin Mikkelson, Soc., 231 plur.
Sixth—John L. Reisse, Soc., 204 plur.
Seventh—George B. McKinley, Rep., 87 maj.
Eighth—G. H. Poor, Soc., 167 plur.
Ninth—Henry Rieg, Soc., 435 plur.
Tenth—William Koch, Soc., 1,190 plur.
Eleventh—Edmund C. Melms, Soc., 1,842 plur.
Twelfth—Max Gross, Soc., 595 plur.
Thirteenth—Albert F. Gloss, Soc., 128 plur.
Fourteenth—Anthony Szmanikowski, Dem., 46 maj.
Fifteenth—August E. Braun, Rep., 396 plur.
Sixteenth—Samuel Wright, Rep., 86 maj.
Seventeenth—Louis A. Arnold, Soc., 262 plur.
Eighteenth—Wm. F. Sanger, Rep., 32 plur.
Nineteenth—Jacob Rummel, Soc., 216 plur.
Twentieth—August W. Strehlow, Soc., 1,740 plur.
Twenty-first—C. L. Welley, Soc., 1,296 plur.
Twenty-second—John Hausman, Soc., 1,276 maj.
Twenty-third—F. W. Rehfeld, Soc., 976 plur.

SUPERVISORS.

First District—F. W. Archibald, Soc., 232 plur.
Second District—Otto Hurlericht, Soc., 64 plur.
Third District—Peter Zall, Soc., 56 plur.
Fourth District—S. R. Ball, Rep., 862 plur.
Fifth District—Martin Miles, Soc., 464 plur.
Sixth District—W. E. McCarty, Dem., 1,506 plur.
Seventh District—C. C. Jacobus, Soc., 1,864 maj.
Eighth District—Emil Buhnke, Soc., 682 plur.
Ninth District—Frank Bunsen, Soc., 682 plur.
Tenth District—Geo. Messing, Soc., 343 plur.
Eleventh District—Pat. S. Sheehan, Soc., 1,226 plur.
Twelfth District—Gus Moerschel, Soc., 1,790 plur.
Thirteenth District—A. E. Gunz, Soc., 62 maj.
Fourteenth District—Andrew Rakowski, Dem., 90 maj.
Fifteenth District—Arth[illegible], Soc., 752 plur.
Sixteenth District—[illegible], Soc., 1,661 maj.

CIRCUIT JUDGE.

F. C. Eschweiler, Nonpart., 156 plur.

CIVIL JUDGES.

For Six Years.

1—Joseph S. Cordes, Soc., plur. 2,827.
2—John J. Gregory, Nonpart., plur. 2,[illegible].
3—Richard Ehmer, Soc., plur. 2,863.

For Four Years.

1—Joseph G. Donnelly, Nonpart., plur. 1,763.
2—Michael Bleneki, Nonpart., plur. 1,440.

For Two Years.

1—John T. Donovan, Nonpart., plur. 78.
2—Henry Cassalinga, Nonpart., plur. 54.

CONSTABLE.

John F. Cooke, Dem., 19,649 plur.

BOND QUESTIONS.

All carried.

The Christian Socialist

A Fraudulent Letter Enclosed in Sample Copies of the Christian Socialist by Some Scoundrel to Deceive Our Comrades

The Secretary of a Socialist local in California forwarded us the following letter which is WHOLLY FRAUDULENT and is being circulated in the most cowardly and criminal manner. The party or parties who are guilty of the false and infamous conduct of preparing this letter *as if it had been written and sent out by the managers of the* CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST, caused it to be inserted in sample copies of the CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST *which they sent* to such comrades as they thought would be the most outraged at such apparent misconduct on our part.

THE LETTER IS UTTERLY FALSE AND FRAUDULENT. It did not originate with any of the managers or friends of the CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST. IT IS INTENDED SOLELY TO INJURE THIS PAPER. It is a cowardly, criminal misrepresentation—A FORGERY IN EFFECT, though the forged signature of our manager does not appear.

All friends of the CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST and ALL HONEST PEOPLE are hereby urged to brand the letter as it deserves. It was without a letter head, typewritten, signed with a typewriter, perhaps duplicated many times, and criminally enclosed in sample copies of the CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST.

To the recipient of this number of "The Christian Socialist":

Dear Sir and Madam—The editor of "The Appeal to Reason" has been kind enough to furnish us with a list of subscribers, and as we are aware of the fact that the government authorities will terminate the publication of the "Appeal" with the issue dated March 5, we are sending as samples what we can spare of this issue of "The Christian Socialist," hoping that the greater part of you may see fit to subscribe.

We will get out a special large edition of our next issue, and will mail a copy to every subscriber on the "Appeal to Reason" list. We only regret that we did not have warning in time to do this with the current issue.

We do not hesitate to say that "The Appeal to Reason" has done much for the cause of Socialism in America, but at the same time all fair minded people must admit that it was a bit radical, and at times wallowed to excess in the slime of the gutter. The publication of such stuff as the Grosscup scandal in any paper or magazine is much to be deplored.

However, we grieve deeply and sincerely over the downfall of the "Appeal," and only hope that the editor and others interested in the management of that now discredited paper may succeed in promoting and publishing a more hopeful, saner, cleaner sheet in the interests of the great cause of Socialism.

In the meantime every man and woman in the United States that can read English should subscribe to "The Christian Socialist," which you will find more beautiful, clearer, more sane and better adapted to the needs of the times than any other Socialist paper ever published anywhere on the globe. God in His wisdom has exterminated the "Appeal." Now is the time to subscribe to "The Christian Socialist."

To those who subscribe immediately we will make a present of that wonderful little volume entitled "*The Rock of Gibraltar*," which has an answer for every argument that was ever brought up against Socialism anywhere, at any time, by any person. This little book is worth its weight in gold and should be in the hands of every Socialist. Yours very truly,

"THE CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST."

Chicago, Ill., March 3, 1910.

EVERY SINGLE PARAGRAPH OF THE ABOVE LETTER IS A LIE IN FACT AND IN SUBSTANCE AND A BASE SLANDER UPON THE MANAGERS AND FRIENDS OF THE CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST. When you remember that this infamous letter was actually inserted in sample copies of our paper and sent as if coming from us, you will realize what a contemptible, dastardly and criminal thing has been done, and it was evidently done by some vicious, fanatical, anti-Christian person who vainly imagines himself to be a Socialist. It was hypocritically and fraudulently sent out in order that our comrades might be misled to believe that we are hypocrites and frauds, as we would be if we had sent out such a letter.

WE WILL GLADLY PAY $25 FOR SATISFACTORY PROOFS OF WHO COMPOSED THIS LETTER AND WHO CAUSED IT TO BE CIRCULATED IN COPIES OF THE CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST, OR OTHERWISE.

Comrades, there are many fanatics who hate this paper because of the marvelous work it is doing among the preachers and church people in converting them to Socialism. Such bigots think that a man of intellect, character and religion coming into the Socialist movement actually injures it. Possibly the one who went to the trouble, expense and RISK of preparing and sending the above letter out is a narrow-brained fanatic[illegible] who actually thought he would thus help the cause of Socialism. He was willing to lie, to slander, to stab his comrades in the dark, to commit libel and moral forgery and VIOLATE THE POSTAL LAWS and RISK A TERM IN PRISON in order to injure the influence and lessen the power of the CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST.

OUGHT NOT EVERY ONE WHO APPRECIATES THE WORK THIS PAPER IS DOING WORK HARDER THAN EVER NOW AND GIVE MORE THAN EVER TO MAKE IT A STILL LARGER SUCCESS?

Secretary Ward's Address

General Secretary Ward may be reached at the Seventh Avenue Hotel, Pittsburg, Pa., from April 17 to 24.

Woman's Day at the Chicago Christian Socialist Fellowship

Poem and Addresses Upon Woman's Mission from the Woman's Viewpoint

Woman

(By Mrs. Nannie Parker. Read by the Author at the Woman's Meeting of the Chicago Christian Socialist Fellowship, March 20.)

Oh, Woman! Mother of this mighty race,
Who, that mankind may live, must bravely go
Into the vale of death, nor count it woe;
But with ecstatic smile upon thy face
Bring back the little life in fond embrace,
The little life which thou mr . cherish so—
What matter if thy proud head is bent low
To shield the dear one in its resting place.

Yet men have called it weakness, this great love,
And deemed it strength which strewed the battle-field
With bloody dead. Placed the red sword above
The gentle scepter motherhood doth wield.
Not yet, oh, woman, hast thou done thy share
While such injustice mars the sons ye bear!

* * *

The Awakening of Woman

By Mrs. Jessie S. Hawthorne.

Among the many statues erected in Garfield Park is a most impressive one "The Spirit of the Mine." In it I see buried beneath piles of geological or social strata, the figures of many women, mostly sleeping, while the strong figure of a man guards the mine. We can see that the women only are beginning to awake.

In home, in factory, in church, in club, there are evidences of woman's awakening. Everywhere, "woman's heart beats responsive to the same inspiration that prompts men to noble deeds." Men have learned to organize and working women are supposed to know the meaning of unions and organization and to have seen the necessity of obtaining the ballot; but the young Socialist factory worker tells me that when she talks to her companions about organization and Socialism they do not know what she means.

This is generally true of the woman in the home, who may be otherwise bright and intelligent, even beyond her neighbors, but she still believes Socialism means the breaking up of homes, whereas its very foundation lies in the building up of homes.

Economic conditions bear heaviest upon women, and perhaps heaviest upon the woman in the home, who is, by virtue of her office as mother and home keeper which has not yet been recognized as an "occupation," a dependent.

The mother of limited means becomes practically an outcast in society. All her time and strength are necessary to care for her children. It is usually a willing sacrifice, but how gladly she would give advantages to her chil that are now beyond her reach.

Our present system takes the young girl from the home where she belongs, places her in office or factory where she cannot learn the elements of housekeeping or how to care for children. Then she marries for love or for a home and a little life is given into her untrained keeping. Baby has pneumonia, a fearful disease, that she knows nothing about. The doctor, if she is fortunate enough to have a careful teacher for a doctor, gives her directions, and the mother is left alone, an untrained nurse, on a life and death case. Intelligence guides her weary limbs, and tired aching body, groaning under the burden of another life, ready to be given into her keeping. After days and nights of anxiety baby is saved. In another home, where conditions would not permit of directions being followed, baby is dead, and the mother is alone in her anguish. Society looks on at these every day struggles of woman in the home and offers no assistance.

The better the education of the mother the greater her struggle. She finds houses built not to live in, but to rent to people who have no children. Foods and clothes are sold for profit and not for use. Even on light and air, in our city, capital has set a price. Even if she has money to pay the bills, she must fight for pure milk and water and all the means of life.

The laws which are man-made are not for woman's interests. In only nine States has the mother the legal right to her own child.

When her children are of school age the mother might hope for some respite. Here again she is brought to a rude awakening. She finds her children are in the grasp of a system over which she has little control. G. Stanley Hall says: "Admirable as our school buildings, comprehensive as the educational school system, well furnished as the teachers are, the question is an open one if many children are not positively injured by it." Overcrowded school rooms and bad air are not the exception. Children are forced to sit in a cramped position for long hours and breath foul air and are considered dull if they are not able to do strenuous brain work. The favored child saved from child labor and sent to school is far from the ideal child life. The Chicago teacher tells us that whenever it happens that a teacher has as few as forty pupils in her room they are divided among grades and she is sent to another class, or her forty increased from other classes. Bright and willing as she may be the system will not allow her to teach the child as an individual. The mother of half a dozen ought to know that forty children are enough for any teacher.

It was a sign of woman's awakening when Ella Flagg Young was given a ten thousand dollar salary and the authority of superintendent over Chicago school children. Mrs. Young was so capable, a woman of such wide vision and wisdom, that though the position would have been an honor to any man, not one word of protest was made against her appointment. She was a woman worthy of the trust.

Women have done satisfactory work on school boards. They have acted as State superintendents of public instruction. Now they are organizing parents' and teachers' associations. They are demanding medical inspection in the schools followed by a trained nurse in the home. In many States they are allowed the ballot on school questions.

When Illinois children are fourteen they are free to be claimed by the factory and mothers have no voice in labor laws. Where 250,000 women are working in our factories you will find 21 factory inspectors, among them three women, to guard the welfare of the 250,000.

Recently the School Extension Committee of Club Women gave its yearly report. These are women of the protected class, who have time to think. They are seeing the things that ought to be done. They collected this year $2,864.14, with which they hired teachers and collected thirty children "back of the yards" suffering from the consumptive germ so prevalent in that district. These children were moved to a school where there was air and freedom. Here they were taught how to play, how to eat and how to live. At the end of sixty days they were sent home strong physically and intellectually. These women have bought an excellent library to be used for the consumptive class only. They have sent these little unfortunates a teacher to tell them stories. They have succeeded in opening the school as a social center in many places where it was most needed. They have organized the mothers into clubs, and found the mother of the yards anxious to learn even as you and I. Into the school yards in vacation time they had sent teachers to lead the children in their play. Two hours' time would only give a hint of the things they have accomplished. They have brought to the few a little of what Socialism will bring to all.

If any club woman is not awake she very soon will be, and she must learn the causes that lead to the evils she has met. Socialist women are in the clubs learning the methods of these broad-minded, trained workers and the Socialist woman is always ready to help in the awakening process.

In Australia where women vote, the child of a poor widowed mother, instead of being taken from her and supported in an institution, or given a foster mother with means, is boarded with the mother at the expense of the state.

The trained nurse is ready to be sent into the home even without charge. There are free courts of justice for settling estates. There are old age pensions, etc.

We believe that home is woman's sphere, but it is a broad sphere, not bounded by four walls, and the wants of her own children. Dr. Shaw says: "If going out to secure a pure environment for the children puts women into politics, God gave children mothers to go out and do this very thing. If we have not the courage to go and do this thing as an awakened womanhood, the Beast will not hesitate to enter our home and claim our best beloved. To do away with child labor and the white slave traffic and to secure the protection of women and children we need the ballot.

In church and club I hear the call for workers and a lament that we have not more money. Women are not economically free to do the thing they would. But we have what is better than money, we have consecrated lives.

Because the Socialists above all others have seen the necessity of a revolution that shall wipe out all the evil influences that defile the home, because in the Socialist movement I have seen the most of consecration and found the highest truth, I am a Socialist.

In helping comrades to secure the economic freedom that will make for the betterment of home and church and state, my influence, though I be but one, shall be one for the Socialist party, where I hope to acquire sufficient intelligence to be able to cast a ballot.

The present great need is the awakening of woman that we may be ready to go over and help our comrades possess the land they have spied out, where men and women and children are free and the highest rewards are given to those who have been of greatest service.

Let us not look backward lest it be said of us as of the children in the wilderness:

"But your little ones, that ye said should be a prey, them will I bring in, and they shall know the land that ye rejected, but as for you, your dead bodies shall fall in the wilderness."

It is a goodly land. Let us unite with our comrades and go over with our husbands and children and possess it. That we may make our possession sure we must have the ballot.

* * *

Socialism and the Home

By Mrs. Eva Nicholls.

The poll parrot cry, "Socialism will break up the home," is uttered with the very impudence of hypocrisy, by the defenders of a system under which true homes are scarce. The charge that the next step in social evolution will destroy family life is an implication that it is unfit to survive in a more orderly economic era, that it is based upon oppression, injustice, want and crime.

According to a proclamation in the daily papers last week, that powerful adversary of home life, the saloon, is necessary to present industrial conditions. But the polarity of the dramshop is no greater perhaps than the repulsion of the wretched habitations of the underworld toward it. The free lunch counter is preferable to the dirty disorderly table, with its frugal untempting fare, surrounded by a herd of noisy, wrangling, unkempt children. Those oracles who are so apprehensive of what they idiotically call "race suicide" should be compelled to sit at such a table, so should those plutocratists who pretend to dread the establishment, by Socialism, of public dining rooms.

That ceaseless demand for "more children" originated in the last stages of barbarism when the home had become a mere breeding place of warriors. The cry has been hysterically reiterated throughout all the ages, sometimes from a vague motive; but what could be more characteristic of the would-be war lord of America than his denunciation of so-called race suicide? Just a short time before that bombastic speech of Roosevelt's, an article was published in the Review of Reviews which deplored the large families of the poor as being the cause of so much poverty. But it has been shown, in different ways, that the manufacturing interests demand a dense population.

The safer and better way to perpetuate the race is not by a higher birthrate, but by means of a lower death rate. There are many more children in America than can be properly cared for, some being actually crowded out of the world.

It is said that the worst feature of chattel slavery was the forcible separation of children from their parents. But how much better, in that respect, is the wage slavery of to-day. The harrowing struggle of a widow to keep her children with her is so often ended by dispairingly giving them up. Nowadays women are haunted by the juvenile court menace, and it is frightful enough to deter them from becoming mothers, for one never knows when she will lose in this wolf and tiger conflict, so fondly called individualism, and be haled into that court on the charge of failure to properly provide for her own offspring. The sight of a mother upon her knees begging a judge not to take her baby away from her, surely argues for the instability of the home under capitalism. The newly adopted ward of the State may be placed in one of those impenetrable institutions with a saint's name, or a public bastile whose rottenness receives an occasional airing in the newspapers. The despoiled mother may well envy the shriek of her bereaved sister over a tiny white coffin.

But the courts have always been notoriously contemptuous of mother love. Under the ancient law, which still obtains in some of our States, a man, tiring of his wife, may leave her and take their children with him. And in a contest for their possession the odds are generally in favor of the father, an appalling violation of nature's laws.

Womanly purity, they say, is necessary to ideal home life, but it is in constant peril. The double standard of morals, which probably is an economic development of the days of the harem, is insisted upon to-day, and it is a graver menace to our maidens than starvation wages; yet the Gingles case disclosed still more terrifying evils. Barretism was concealed by the censored press, upheld by the corrupted courts and protected by the intimidated police. Yet the discriminating reader could see discrepencies in the newspaper accounts of the affair sufficient to give an inkling of the truth, one of the purest characters in existence had been Barretized, and was horribly persecuted for six months, her only offense being her refusal to lead a life of shame.

Very few householders in Chicago own the roof over their heads, and the constant change of apartments, which are so unlike the proverbial vine and figtree, is not likely to instill a reverence for home life. The defenders of capitalistic homes do not appear to be alarmed over the steadily increasing patronage of the family hotel, nor of the "furnished room and oil stove" of working girls, many of whom have been driven from home, where they are so much needed by overworked mothers in the struggle for existence. Perhaps they forget the vast number of persons who live in prisons and institutions, the army of the unemployed and habitual tramps.

How few are the dwellings which are built with a view to the accommodation of children; the frightful accidents which so often happen to the children of the poor are almost unknown in the houses of the Bourgeoise, where the tots are carefully guarded in convenient sanitary nurseries.

The redeemed commonwealth will establish just such nurseries for all little folks, for privilege will give place to rights. The matrimony of to-day, which has been satirically defined as "a matter of money," and bartering for coronets, will be supplanted by the true marriage. There will be no disintegration of the normal sized family by meddling courts, and by the sons and daughters leaving home to fight for a living. The bastiles of childhood, as

well as of old age, will all meet with a 14th of July fate. The apartment house will disappear, as it will be possible for every family to live in a cottage, equipped with every known improvement, and surrounded by a garden.

Ideal homes, with a firm foundation, can only exist in the co-operative commonwealth. That platitude "the home is the basis of the nation" is an unconscious irony, for the average home is characteristic of the present insecure social structure, whose very walls harbor dangerous explosives and inflammable material. But the sanctity, unity, and purity of the future family will generate a nation of which it will be the type.

* * *

Socialist Women and the Suffrage Association

By Mrs. Anna K. Hulburd

All this discussion concerning the attitude of Socialist women toward the Woman Suffrage Association has arisen from their co-operation in winning the New York shirt waist makers' strike.

According to reports the Socialist women and the Suffragists stood together staunch and enthusiastic in support of the strikers. Representatives of both organizations helped the strikers to further organize, they marched in parades, did picket duty, and were arrested and imprisoned. They exposed and denounced the brutal treatment of the police, stood bail and insisted on justice from court officials, and gave generous and substantial financial aid to the end that the strike was won.

Socialist and trade union women are used to working together in the economic struggle, but for the first time the Suffragists actively entered the fight.

The Suffragists looked beyond their class and noted with sympathy the struggle for a decent wage and better conditions for woman's work. Henceforth every struggle on the economic field for a higher standard of living will receive increasing support from the enlightened, altruistic consciousness of womankind.

Owing to some difference of opinion the New York Socialist women called a conference to discuss the attitude to be taken toward the Middle Class Suffrage Association. They resolved that the work of Socialist women for Suffrage must be carried on along separate and independent lines, through and by the economic and political organization of the working class.

If the Socialist women of New York have decided from their experience not to co-operate with the Suffrage association that is their own affair, but their resolution need not affect the action of other Socialist women. Of course, they should be willing to listen to the counsel of other Socialist organizations, and to profit by their experiences, but they should also be free to use their own judgment in their own experiences.

Several Socialist writers have been deprecating the woman suffrage agitation among Socialists as wasting time and strength on a matter that is only an incident to Socialism. To them, as to most all men the world over, the disfranchisement of half the citizens since they are women, seems only a trifling incident. But how about manhood suffrage? The main struggle to-day, in the country with the best organized Socialist party, which is the center of the International Socialist movement, is on the question of the extension of manhood suffrage. Instead of waiting for the complete economic revolution, or for the transformation of the capitalist state into Socialism to bring to all adult males equal suffrage, the Socialist party of Germany has been concentrating all its fighting resources, with all the force of its political power, to gain this right for all men equally.

It demands the suffrage not as an incident in the class struggle, but as the most necessary means for obtaining economic justice.

One Socialist writer announces that the Socialist party of Chicago believes in co-operation outside of political parties and cites the Haywood conference and the Refugee Defense League. Then why not include the Suffrage Association, which is a non-partisan organization standing for one of the principles of Socialism? He scornfully points to the fact that the Suffrage Association was not represented in either of these conferences, which is sadly true.

The Suffragists declined to affiliate through fear of alienating many of their supporters, who are afraid of extreme radicals, a position perfectly justifiable from their point of view. The Suffrage Association is limited in its object to suffrage and its tactics admit of affiliating only with organizations with the same definite purpose. But these limitations need not antagonize Socialists *whose program includes Woman Suffrage* and there is nothing in the Suffrage agitation to prevent Socialist women from friendly co-operation. No Socialist women have proposed any such thing as party fusion or party affiliation with the Suffrage Association, and yet some of the writers have protested against co-operation on this ground. They have misrepresented what was meant by the term co-operation.

There is need to-day for woman's loyalty to woman's interests. Until women are actually upon the same plane with men, sex-consciousness—by women's very disabilities—is emphasized. And by means of this same consciousness only can these disabilities be removed. But when women have secured equality with men there will be no further need of any appeal to sex-consciousness, which will be merged into the broader appeal to human consciousness.

There is much need to-day also for special work among the women of the working class. All must deplore the woeful lack of interest in Woman Suffrage among women outside the trades unions—within the families of working men. These neglected, uninformed women are a drag and a menace to the interests of the working class. Confined to their isolated, scattered, narrow domestic spheres, these women have not yet developed even the cohesion and organization of a sex-conscious class. Certainly this development must precede class-consciousness or the wider race consciousness.

This has been the history of man. He developed sex-consciousness first and his progress has been wholly upon this basis. For this very reason it has been so overwhelmingly hard for woman to gain recognition for her sex. The ever-watchful and jealous sex-consciousness of man protests against the advance of woman. Every gain in social power for women, men have regarded as a menace to their own long existent and dominating sex control of society.

Most men recognize woman's capacity, but refuse to give her political status through fear of losing their own undivided sex domination of politics. Men as a class have not yet developed beyond sex-consciousness to social consciousness, or women would not be forced to fight for their share of social privileges.

Socialist women find, to their surprise, the same contemptuous attitude among men in the Socialist party, although the Socialist philosophy recognizes woman's equal rights and although the International Socialist party demands woman's emancipation to industrial and political equality.

One leader writes that "those Socialist women who do not pin their faith to the Socialist party and consider Woman Suffrage the whole thing do not belong in the Socialist party, but in the Suffrage Association." What men would consider their right of suffrage secondary to any other right in society?

Is the loyalty of the Socialist women now to be questioned unless they confine their efforts for suffrage within the Socialist political party?

As members of women's clubs, Socialist women, freed from petty, personal ambition by keeping always in mind their larger social creed, have won the confidence of their fellow members. The good judgment of Socialist members in adapting themselves to the conditions and rules of their affiliations has secured ready recognition of their leadership in advanced thought on all social problems. Good results in waning prejudice, in better understanding of Socialist aims and in respectful hearing for Socialist speakers certainly justify Socialist women in co-operating with all other organizations.

In their efforts to benefit their own sex, Socialist women have been intimidated by the cry of "Feminism."

They have been denounced for setting their sex claims above the class struggle. But this is all a foolish "bugaboo." Of all people, Socialists should exalt the idea of Feminism which stands for co-operation. Isn't the world suffering to-day, through all its evils, from its opposite, Masculinism, or competition? Surely no one need be frightened by this cry. The world has nothing to fear from Feminism, for it is the very thing that Socialism is emphasizing.

In primitive times, when woman was the controlling factor in society, all of its members were free and equal and supplied with all their physical necessities. After the establishment of Masculinism arose the attending horrors of private property, human slavery and sex antagonism.

When woman is emancipated she will again secure the rights of all. She will contribute more than any other factor in society to race progress. She will demand that children shall be well born, well nourished, well educated and inspired with the highest devotion to the welfare of all human kind.

At the International Woman Suffrage convention, held in Europe two summers ago, the Socialist women co-operated by sending their ablest women to represent them. The splendid Socialist speeches made a great impression upon that body of strong progressive women.

At the recent legislative committee hearing on the bill for equal suffrage at the State House in Boston, Socialist women were represented by Marion Craig Wentworth. It was worth while that Socialist women co-operate with Suffragists for the opportunity it gave Comrade Wentworth to make her fine Socialist speech before a body of legislators who probably heard for the first time a true presentation of the Socialist program. The more co-operation and wider affiliation of Socialists the better, so long as there is no compromise of principles.

* * *

Co-operation of Women Endorsed

At the Woman's Meeting of the Chicago Center of the Christian Socialist Fellowship at which the above papers were read, which was presided over by Mrs. Ella Carr, by a unanimous vote of all the members present, both men and women, it was decided to endorse the principle of co-operation between Socialist women and the Woman Suffrage Association in all worthy efforts to further the cause of woman suffrage.

Splendid Meetings at St. Louis

We have had two splendid meetings of the Fellowship recently. At our meeting of March 3 we had a "Votes for Women" demonstration. Several of the most cultured ladies of the city spoke under our auspices on this vital question. Mrs. Wm. A. Ward, our chairman, first read an excellent paper on Woman's Suffrage from the strictly Socialist standpoint, and then introduced the various lady suffragists (four in all,) who each spoke on one particular phase of the question. Our little hall in the Cabanne Library was filled with almost 200 people of every age and of both sexes, a typical west-end audience. Every one of our five dailies featured the affair in long articles the next day. We hope to add some members to our center as a result of this meeting.

Mrs. Lulu McClure Clarke told the audience that there are 30,000 working women in St. Louis "who have never been seriously asked to help in the general welfare except to increase the population and to kill off rats." Mrs. Clark spoke feelingly of the condition of the working girl, working for small wages and living under the most unsanitary conditions. She said the most despicable word in the language to her was the word "scab," and yet that was what men allowed women to be, underbidding them in their work, taking their places and otherwise injuring them, a thing that would be impossible if women had the vote.

Mrs. Florence Wyman Richardson spoke on Woman Suffrage from its philosophical side. She said freedom is an inner consciousness, and not a thing that can be given to anyone. A man, for instance, in a cell thinks the door is locked, and he is virtually a prisoner even though the door is not locked. He has not the consciousness of his freedom. So women have freedom, but they have not the consciousness of it, as yet, she said. They are only beginning to find it out. The vote will be the outward sign of this consciousness.

Miss Bertha Rockwell spoke of the condition of woman in modern life, including her economic disadvantages and the white slave traffic. Of woman's political rights she said: "There are twenty-three states in which men and women have nearly equal property and child rights, and Missouri is one of them. The lonesome state is Louisiana, which has given woman no right to her property or child as yet, she said. Four of the states have suffrage rights for women, and ten of them are not yet up to the ideal in the matter of property and child rights."

The appearance of Miss Florence Richardson had been awaited by the audience, this splendid society girl evidently typifying the best ideals of the movement to those present. She read a paper giving the history of the suffragist movement in England, with all that it has meant in the recent election. Her picture of the prime minister of England going forth in his motor car with long lines of policemen protecting him from the women lying in wait only asking audience, with firemen ready to turn the waiting hose upon them at the first sign of excitement, was received with shouts of laughter. She told of the experiences of the women, forcibly fed in the jails, and of the hundreds of letters sent to Mr. Asquith, each bearing the signed statement that a Liberal had voted against the government because of its treatment of the Woman Suffrage bills.

At our last meeting, on St. Patrick's Day, we invited a well-known Irish-American lawyer of this city, who spoke on the Irish National Movement. We did not secure him in time to do any advertising, so our audience, though very much interested, was not a very large one. We did pretty well, though, and expect some results from this meeting likewise. We expect to have a Temperance meeting in the near future, and also hope to send a delegate to the Conference in Pittsburg.

Geo. H. Hall, Jr., Secretary C. S. F.,
5531 Clemens avenue, St. Louis, Mo.

Other Socialist Meetings

At the Morton Park M. E. Church, Chicago, Rev. J. C. Brogan, pastor, Rev. E. E. Carr spoke to the Sunday night audience on "Jesus and the Class Struggle."

Calls continue to come to Mr. Carr for many more lectures on Christian Socialism than he has time and strength to give, both from comrades in Chicago and in other parts of the country. At Benton Harbor, Michigan, he recently spoke in the Opera House on Sunday afternoon to a fine audience on "The Failure of Capitalism," and in the evening he gave "Scientific Socialism in the Bible" to a large audience in the Congregational church at St. Joseph.

A return engagement at Kalamazoo, Michigan, April 3, enabled him to lecture on Socialism at the People's Church Sunday morning, at the Majestic Theater Sunday afternoon, before the Ministers' Association Monday forenoon, and again before the Men's Club of the People's Church Tuesday night. Mrs. Carr also addressed the Woman's Club of the People's Church Tuesday afternoon. As a result of these meetings the interest in Socialism at Kalamazoo is much increased.

Last Sunday Mr. Carr lectured in the Methodist Church at Dowagiac, Mich., in the morning and at the Christian Church at night. Both were very large, fine meetings. He spoke to the ministers at a special meeting Saturday night.

Church people are certainly waking up. It is no longer very difficult to get the message of Socialism before churches and preachers' associations if kindly and [illegible] efforts are made.

Socialism at Methodist Conference

The New York East Conference, consisting of over three hundred Methodist Episcopal ministers, convening this year at Middletown, Conn., enthusiastically cheered a rousing address on Socialism by Rev. Dr. George P. Eckman, who boldly described the inhuman conditions under which men, women and children work and live, denounced the system which requires such slavery and want, and declared that the Gospel of Christ means "the wealth of the world for the poor."

Wherever there is a church conference of any kind to be held our comrades should try to get a Christian Socialist speaker on the program.

The noblest and most important work any Socialist can do is to circulate Socialist propaganda papers—especially the CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST, because it fearlessly advocates "the great identification" of true religion and true Socialism. See our prize offers on page 8.

Utopianism Vs. Scientific Socialism

By Harry S. Richards—Reply by Harvey P. Moyer

I have just read an article in the CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST for April 1st, by Comrade Harvey P. Moyer, entitled "Socialism Simplified," and I wish to kindly criticise the conception of Socialism set forth in his article.

The impression which one receives after reading the article is that Socialism is a pre-planned social order, an ideal form of industrial society which we, the Socialists, propose to inaugurate as soon as we have captured a majority of the political offices of the nation. Now, if there is one thing which *scientific* Socialism is not, it is precisely such an idealistic scheme as that described by Comrade Moyer. No man or political party, however wise they may be, can know what the future form of society will be. That must be purely a matter of speculation. Science does not attempt to say what will be, or what ought to be, but simply tries to explain that which now is, and how it came to be what it is. Scientific Socialism is not a future ideal social order; it is a *present-day social movement* of the organized working class against the oppression of the dominant capitalist class. The Socialist party is merely the instrument used by the working class upon the political field in its struggle to overthrow the power of the capitalist class. The conception of Socialism as an ideal co-operative commonwealth is Utopianism, not scientific Socialism. The leading thinkers in the Socialist movement have been forced to abandon the Utopianism of Marx in favor of a constructive program embodying the immediate demands of the working class, without particular reference to the future form of industrial society, or, at least, merely referring to it as a further development of capitalism. Those Socialists who think that they can predict the precise conditions which will obtain under a social order of the far distant future are going to be badly deceived. The essence of Utopianism is the belief that by some preconceived scheme, present-day society can be transformed into an ideal co-operative commonwealth.

No man, or group of men, pre-planned the capitalistic system. It has gradually evolved out of feudalism in European countries, and from the agricultural stage in America. The immediate causes for the transformation of our agricultural society into a modern industrial society were the introduction of the factory system of production, the extension of our markets by means of railroad and steamship transportation, and the influx of a vast horde of cheap foreign labor. The change from agriculturalism to industrialism has been so rapid in America that we have not been able to adjust our political system to the needs of the new industrial order. The Socialistic tendencies of our time are merely the crude attempts of the people to ameliorate some of the most distressing evils arising out of the capitalistic system. As these evils are lessened and the condition of the working class gradually improved, we may expect to see the radicalism of certain groups of the workers disappear. The Socialist movement must take up these immediate demands of the workers, or an independent labor party will be organized to do the work. We cannot afford to spend our time speculating about the future form of society when there are so many immediate demands of the working class to be considered and attained. It may be that the new social order will be an ideal co-operative commonwealth. No man knows or can know. Any attempt at prediction is Utopianism pure and unadulterated. The most that scientific Socialists can do in the way of prediction (?) is to point out certain tendencies in the evolution of society. These tendencies, however, do not justify the conclusion that in the near future the Socialists will gain control of the government and at once inaugurate a co-operative commonwealth. We may be able, in the course of the present century, to accomplish some much-needed social reforms which will greatly benefit the working class, but any attempt on the part of the Socialists to attain their ends by revolutionary methods would inevitably result in anarchy or a military despotism. Permanent improvements and changes are secured by peaceful evolutionary methods. Our work in this day and generation is to build up a strong working class movement which will be able to secure immediate benefits for the workers. The co-operative commonwealth is a beautiful dream, but is too far in the future to spend our time speculating about it.

Harry S. Richards.

The University of Chicago.

* * *

Moyer's Reply

I am very glad for Comrade Richards' criticism of my "Twenty-Five Good and Sufficient Reasons for Working for Socialism," for it gives me an opportunity to express myself on the *so-called* "scientific" view of Socialism—a view which robs our Socialist propaganda of much of its rightful enthusiasm, life and power, and which, in my judgment, is largely responsible for the slow growth of the Socialist movement in general.

In all candor, what inducement does Comrade Richards, with his purposeless, planless view of Socialism, offer the vast hosts of laboring men or any other men to leave the Republican and Democratic parties with all their alluring promises of prosperity? For we must not forget that we are constantly up against the stern reality of Economic Determinism, which, in everyday language, is nothing more than the plain bread and butter question. But few men dare evade this force, and the masses never will under our present social system. Hence, with no greater inducement than this indefinite "movement" of the "organized working class against the oppression of the dominant capitalist class" without either plan, purpose, or ideals, we certainly could accomplish nothing more "in the course of the present century" (think of it!) "than some much-needed *reforms* which will greatly benefit the working class." If this is Socialism, then Mr. Gompers is surely the Socialist par excellence, and is doubtless leading his enlightened forces to victory *at about the proper gait!*

And yet this is precisely what many so-called scientific Socialists offer the honest truth-seeker who is looking for light in this great struggle for social salvation. When asked for bread, they give a stone. Instead of a clear, definite, scientifically deduced plan for social regeneration, the inquirer is told of some vague, indefinite, planless "movement" that p.. ts nowhere, leads nowhere, and scarcely hopes get anywhere during this century at least, and h.. e wins but few adherents. When Collier's Weekly ..fered the Socialists a magnificent opportunity to p.. sent the principles and ideals of Socialism to its large and intelligent audience, many of us were more than disappointed that our leaders presented so little that was tangible, definite, or practical.

But our Comrade's title, "Utopianism vs. Scientific Socialism," as applied to our article, conveys a very wrong impression.

It is not ideals that make Socialism Utopian. Nor is it contrary to true Scientific Socialism to enter the realm of the ideal. There has never been a real Socialist book written of any power or influence, nor has there been any really effective Socialist speech made, without rising into the ideal, however scientific the speaker or writer may have been in theory. Nor does such use of ideals affect, in the least, the scientific basis or foundation of the speaker's or writer's Socialism. Spargo justly places Marx and Engels in the line of the prophets, "whose eyes have seen the same glorious vision of a love-welded world" (*Socialism*, p. 7). And even our greatest modern German Socialist propagandist, Karl Kautsky, whose standing as a Scientific Socialist cannot be questioned, declares, "There is no such thing as politics without *prophesying*."

The trouble is we have had too little, not too much, of what Kautsky calls the "revolutionary passion," or "enthusiasm." It is true the Utopian Socialism of Owen and Fourier lacked the scientific basis; but the purely "scientific" dicta of Socialism without the accompanying moral and religious enthusiasm and inspiration is lifeless, hopeless and ineffective. Every true Socialist acknowledges the scientific basis of Socialism, established by our great Socialist teachers. It is the duty of the present day Socialists to present these fundamental principles of Socialism and their logical deductions so clearly and attractively that the people will gladly accept and carry them into practical operation.

Comrade Richards is wrong when he says that "science does not attempt to say what will be or what ought to be, but simply tries to explain that which now is and how it came to be what it is." This might be said of history, but not of science. Under such limitation, what would become of all the practical scientific deductions in Astronomy, Biology, Economics, etc., etc.? How, indeed, could Marx himself have developed the theory and philosophy of Socialism save through scientific deductions from the facts of social science? *The proof and utility of the science of astronomy lie in its power to predict.* The same is true of other sciences, biology, medicine, etc., and *especially of economics*, which involves both industry and politics. It is a poor statesman who dare not foretell the consequences of his proposed reforms. He could never win sufficient support to have them tried.

Nor is Comrade Richards wrong only in his position as regards science in general, but he errs in regard to the position of the leading Scientific Socialists, from Karl Marx to Karl Kautsky. If he will re-examine the foundation principles of Socialism, particularly Kautsky's remarkable work, "*The Road to Power*," so pertinent to the question in hand, he will find that the scientific Socialists have indeed a very definite purpose and plan: (1) "The overthrow of private capital in the means of production and rulership, and, (2) the substitution of social production for production for profit," (p. 5). Moreover, (3) the "Socialists recognize * * * that this Socialist revolution for which the proletariat strives cannot be realized *until it shall have captured political power*." "It is by means of these fundamental principles, laid down by Marx and Engels in the *Communist Manifesto*, that the Socialists of to-day are distinguished from the so-called Utopian Socialists of the first half of the last century, such as Owen and Fourier" (p. 6).

"It is true that everywhere and constantly there is being created by the development of the capitalist methods of production and the class struggle between capitalists and laborers growing therefrom *the right conditions for the social revolution*." "Everywhere the proletariat develops these phases of activity to organize industrially, co-operatively and politically to procure for itself better conditions of life, and labor, and greater political influence." "IT IS THE MISSION OF THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT to bring all these various activities of the proletariat against its exploitation into one CONSCIOUS and UNIFIED MOVEMENT, THAT WILL FIND ITS CLIMAX IN THE GREAT FINAL BATTLE FOR THE CONQUEST OF POLITICAL POWER." (*Kautsky*, p. 7.)

"So much is certain: the Socialists, as the champions of the class interests of the proletariat, constitute A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY, because IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO RAISE THIS CLASS TO A SATISFACTORY EXISTENCE WITHIN CAPITALIST SOCIETY; and because THE LIBERATION OF THE WORKING CLASS IS ONLY POSSIBLE THROUGH THE OVERTHROW OF PRIVATE PROPERTY IN THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION AND RULERSHIP, AND THE SUBSTITUTION OF SOCIAL PRODUCTION FOR PRODUCTION FOR PROFIT" (page 5).

"The greatest force working for our success is the revolutionary enthusiasm. WE SHALL NEED THIS MORE IN FUTURE THAN BEFORE" (page 60).

Not only does Kautsky here definitely declare that scientific Socialism has a definite aim, purpose, plan and mission—a co-operative, non-profit-producing, real democratic Republic-Nation, premeditatively obtained through political power, which can mean nothing less than the Co-operative Commonwealth, but he states positively, "This position, the fundamental principles of which were laid down in the *Communist Manifesto*, is to-day accepted by the Socialist movements of all countries. Upon it rests the whole great international Socialist movement of our time."

Indeed, into what else could the fundamental principles of Socialism develop than the Co-operative Commonwealth? It could not be into competition as that is in direct opposition to Socialism; and, besides, competition is already dead. Our present social system has already developed into an *artisto-cratic* Socialism, a collective system of manufacture in the interest of the few, and needs only to be nationalized or socialized, controlled and managed by the government, all the people, to have collective manufacture in the interest of all, democratic—pure Socialism. Every Socialist principle points towards co-operation: (1) Economic Determinism necessarily drives us, by Nature's first great law of self-preservation, into co-operation with our fellows for the maximum comfort with the minimum labor; (2) Surplus Value, simply our exploited labor product, forces us into union with our plundered fellows to help retain and maintain our own; (3) The Class Struggle is only the conscious, united struggle of the exploited class to secure justice from the exploiting class by using their combined political and industrial power to end all class division; and, (4) Collectivism is nothing more than the common sense, systematic union of all labor and intelligence to develop scientifically all the world's great possibilities of comfort and happiness in the interest of all the people, the scientific, logical development of the present universal trend towards organization and consolidation, economic, fraternal, religious, the inevitable highway to Socialism.

While it is true that science *per se* has nothing to say as to "what *ought* to be," yet, when science has pointed out the logical evolutionary social ultimate, the Co-operative Commonwealth, it is folly not to use our ordinary common sense and intelligence to hasten this desirable evolution by intelligent direction. Moreover, when science clearly shows the way out of this present unscientific, chaotic, unjust social system into a possible scientific and just system, *our moral and religious principles dictate our duty to do all we possibly can to end the present iniquity and injustice and establish the new social order at the earliest possible date.* Besides, as it is scientific to deduce the Co-operative Commonwealth from the facts of social science, and the "concentration of capital is not an automatic process, that proceeds without the will and consciousness of the participants" (Kautsky, p. 39), we may, as scientifically, direct, plan and work for the development of the Co-operative Commonwealth. To provide conditions and lay plans for the highest development of humanity, is equally as scientific as to plan for the development of a higher breed of cattle or a more perfect system of agriculture, horticulture, etc.

Right here is the great field of the Christian Socialist. He must bring into play every possible force, every moral and religious argument to hasten the day of human brotherhood, true Christian Socialism. From the Christian standpoint, it is not only foolish but wrong to sit idly down, and expect that this old world will scientifically develop into the kingdom of Heaven *without our ideals, will and conscious effort.* As Kautsky well says, "A great revolutionary struggle can be carried on only by great masses *who know what they intend to do*" (p. 63). "For the conscious mind of man sets purposes before him, and also shows him the way to attain these purposes without the waste of strength, and with the least expenditure of purposeful energy possible" (p. 43). *We must be about our Father's business.*

I think I have conclusively shown, by the highest authority on scientific Socialism, that to cherish an ideal of the Co-operative Commonwealth and to definitely plan and work for it through political power in the Socialist party is not only *not unscientific* but that the clearer and more definite our ideas for future social development, the "more continuously and impressively the will to live on the part of the proletariat expresses itself, the more will the greatness of the *battle prize* spur that will on to the greatest possible evolutionary passion, that is not the product of senseless excitement but of clear and definite knowledge" (Kautsky, p. 48). As no great achievements, no great progress in anything has ever been made without ideals, without dreams, it is necessary to have before us clear ideals, definite aims, and noble purposes, if we wish to gather the people to our standard, inspire them for efficient work, and lead them on speedily to humanity's greatest victory. It is not "wholly unscientific" to "hitch your wagon to a star."

Since writing the above, I have clipped the following striking confirmatory expressions on this phase of Socialism:

"Our task is the task of realizing the dreams of

all the great men of the past."—*Emil Siedel, the newly-elected Socialist Mayor of Milwaukee.*

"We are good revolutionary Socialists, and all of that, but we will mix that with practical common sense and expert knowledge, and we will give Milwaukee the best government it has ever had."—*Victor Berger, newly-elected Socialist alderman at large, Milwaukee.*

"We certainly need the enthusiasm that comes from devotion to a great cause. No language could exaggerate the power of such devotion to move the race. If the Socialist movement should ever lose sight of its ultimate goal, if it should ever close its eyes to the social vision of a co-operative brotherhood, it would be deservedly damned to sterility and death.

"But with IDEALS we need IDEAS. With imagination we need intelligence. It is well to "hitch your wagon to a star" with Emerson, but you will never get beyond the first ditch if you do not tend to your steering and *know the road you propose to travel.*"—*Editorial, Ideas and Ideals, Chicago Daily Socialist, April* 8, 1910.

"To make Socialism a fact in this land, we must stir up an immense awakening of the Social conscience. . . . We must preach a deeper and more stirring gospel. To inspire the whole nation to an effective enthusiasm we must advocate nothing less than the social revolution."—*Arthur Bullard. N. Y., Chicago Daily Socialist, April* 7, 1910.

It is encouraging to note that the Socialists today are becoming more and more practical everywhere, as is evidenced by the many recent victories in foreign lands, and notably by the great Socialist victory in the municipal election in Milwaukee. Nor are our Milwaukee comrades the less scientific because the more practical and popular ("Utopian"). In the midst of a heated local campaign, along with the popular local issues, their campaign literature contained clear-cut, scientific Socialist articles. Moreover, it is worth noting here that the Milwaukee comrades never prejudice the cause of Socialism by injecting into their propaganda work any irrelevant, personal ideas regarding atheism, etc., a course that has injured our cause so much in many other places. The Milwaukee victory has certainly justified the "Milwaukee idea," and offers a great lesson and splendid, encouraging example for Socialists everywhere.

Let us not worry, therefore, about being too "Utopian" in our propaganda work, so long as we are grounded on scientific foundations. Let us not hesitate to use every possible argument and illustration in writing, speech, and song to lead the people out of this present infamous social system into the glorious light of the Socialist state. Let us not be afraid to tell the people that it is not necessary to wait centuries for the coming of God's Kingdom. If this Kingdom can be established in our day, as it can through definite purpose, intelligent direction, and consecrated effort, since the machine age is here and we have the ballot-power in our hands, then it is our Christian duty to rouse ourselves from slumber, put all our energies and all our means to work AND BRING IT ABOUT.

Harvey P. Moyer.

A Sacred Call to Action

BY MOTHER JONES

TO THE MEN AND WOMEN OF THE UNITED STATES:

There are now in our federal prisons eight or ten Mexican revolutionists who have been silently railroaded to the American bastiles at the behest of the most bloody tyrant which ever cursed God's earth, Diaz of Mexico. Some humane Congressmen have introduced a bill of inquiry asking the Attorney General to explain why as revolutionists these men are held. I beg of you in the sacred name of freedom to flood Congress with letters demanding that this investigation be pushed through Congress. No pigeonholing, or your hands will be dripping with red blood, as Diaz' are. Don't fail. The cause of justice calls on you. You hear the pleadings of our brothers from behind the capitalist bastiles. Oh, men and women, save these brave brothers of the revolution!

The Road to Power

Not since the Socialist Declaration of Independence, the COMMUNIST MANIFESTO by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, has a small book struck such a clear, thrilling note and aroused so much enthusiasm among wide-awake comrades as this well-digested utterance of the great German Socialist, Karl Kautsky, THE ROAD TO POWER.* So carefully thought out, so compactly, concisely expressed, so boldly hurled into the teeth of revisionists and mere opportunist reformers, it is a strong, keen weapon for one who believes in the real social revolution. Kautsky is one of the very foremost Socialists now living and a famous author, but we doubt if he ever did anything more inspiring, instructive and helpful to the Socialist movement than the writing of this book. It is an interesting array of fact and philosophy, a resistless argument, a thrilling battle cry, a shout of certain victory. We congratulate Comrade A. M. Simons on the able translation of this most excellent and timely contribution to Socialist literature and extend our thanks to Comrade Samuel A. Block for the publication of it. And we particularly advise all our comrades to read it.

*THE ROAD TO POWER by Karl Kautsky. Translated from the German by A. M. Simons. Published by Samuel A. Block, 11 Wentworth Bldg., Chicago. 50c.

"Black Men, Strike for Liberty"

This leaflet is written to interest colored men in Socialism. Send for a bundle: 12 copies postpaid, 10c; 25 copies, 25c; 50, 40c; 100, 75c; 500, $3.50; 1,000, $4.00. Address Rev. George W. Slater, Jr., Aurora, Neb.

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Rev. Eliot White, Ph. D., during the next six months will have charge of all services at St. Peter's Episcopal Church, Port Chester, Diocese of New York, as *"Locum Tenens"* in the absence of the rector, Rev. C. E. Brugler, who spends the season in Europe.

Executive Committee Meeting

The members of the General Executive Committee of the Christian Socialist Fellowship are requested to meet at the Second Presbyterian Church, Pittsburg, at 1:30 p. m. April 21st. Committee members are urged to attend the Conference and to arrive in time to be present at this committee meeting.

Wm. A. Ward, Gen. Sec.

First Conference Session on Thursday

In pursuance of a motion passed by the General Executive Committee fixing the date of the Fifth Annual Conference of the Christian Socialist Fellowship which is to be held at Pittsburg, Pa., the General Secretary announces that the Conference will begin at 3 p. m., Thursday, April 21st, and continue over Sunday, closing Sunday afternoon, the 24th, unless unfinished business makes it necessary to extend the time to the following Monday.

The morning and afternoon sessions will be devoted to business and practical discussions relating to the organization and its work, and the night sessions will be devoted to addresses by noted Christian Socialists.

Delegates and all others who will attend this Conference should send their names at once to Mrs. Wm. Adams, 1017 Ross avenue, Wilkinsburg, Pa., that entertainment may be pro[illegible] The Pittsburg comrades will furnish lodgin[illegible] breakfast free in their homes. Delegates who [illegible] to stop at downtown hotels can find accommodations at the following hotels: Seventh Avenue Hotel, European, $1 up; Anderson Hotel, European, $1 up; Colonial Annex, European, $1 up; Fort Pitt, European, $1.50 up.

All sessions of the Conference will be held in the Second Presbyterian Church, where delegates should go on arrival, register and be assigned to the homes where they are to be entertained.

The General Secretary will stop at the Seventh Avenue Hotel during the Conference, where he may be addressed by correspondents or found by those in attendance at the Conference who may wish to see him.

The business meetings will be important, and all who are interested in this growing movement who can come should be there. A strong program will be presented, and men will speak whom it will be worth going far to hear.

Wm. A. Ward, Gen. Sec.

The Conference Program

The program of the Fifth General Conference of the Christian Socialist Fellowship, to be held at the Second Presbyterian Church, Pittsburg, Pa., April 21-24, is now substantially completed.

The General Executive Committee is called to meet at the Church at 1:30 p. m. Thursday, April 21. Every member of the Committee should be present.

The First Session of the Conference proper will begin at 3 p. m. Thursday, April 21. This session will be exceedingly important, as some of the chief Committees will be elected then. Let every delegate strive to be present at this first business session.

Program

The oratorical and musical program will begin Thursday night. Rev. E. E. Carr of Chicago, Editor of the CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST, will preside. Moyer's Songs of Socialism will be used at every public meeting of the Conference.

7:30 p. m.—Song and Prayer.

8:00 p. m.—Address of Welcome by Rev. Dr. Daniel Dorchester, Jr., Pastor of Christ M. E. Church, Pittsburg.

8:30—Response to Welcome, and Lecture by Rev. Wm. A. Ward of St. Louis, General Secretary of the Christian Socialist Fellowship of America.

Friday, April 22

Business Sessions of the Conference Morning and Afternoon, at hours to be fixed by the Conference.

4:00 p. m.—Devotional Exercises, led by Harvey P. Moyer.

4:15—Address by Rev. Charles G. Girelius, Pastor Bethany Presbyterian Church, Williamsport, Pa., on "Profit or Service?"

7:30—Song and Prayer. Rev. Wm. A. Prosser, Pastor Methodist Episcopal Church, McKees Rocks, Pa., president for the evening.

8:00—Address by Rev. Dr. John L. Jackson, Pastor First Baptist Church, Sharon, Pa., "Christian Socialism in the Pulpit."

8:30—Lecture by Rev. Dr. W. D. P. Bliss of the American Institute of Social Service, New York, formerly Editor of the *Dawn*, the first Christian Socialist journal in America, "Liberty and Socialism."

Saturday, April 23

Business Sessions Morning and Afternoon.

4:00 p. m.—Devotional Exercises, led by Rev. Dr. Eliot White of New York.

4:15—Address by Mr. Horace Mann of Buffalo, N. Y., "The Economics of Socialism."

7:30 p. m.—Song and Prayer. President for the evening, Rev. Dr. W. D. P. Bliss.

8:00—Address by Mrs. Ella Carr, Secretary Chicago C. S. Fellowship, "How to Get Socialist Lectures Into Churches."

8:30—Lecture by Rev. A. B. Francisco, Pastor Humboldt Park Swedenborgian Church, Chicago, "Socialism the Logic of Christianity."

Sunday, April 24

All visiting Socialist speakers will fill pulpits in Pittsburg churches both morning and evening.

2:30 p. m., at the Second Presbyterian Church—Song and Prayer. Rev. Wm. A. Ward, presiding.

3:00—Address by Prof. H. K. Dennis, Stoneboro, Pa., "God's Way Out of the Wilderness."

3:30—Lecture by Rev. J. Stitt Wilson of Berkeley, Calif., or Rev. Dr. E. J. Helms of Morgan Memorial M. E. Church, Boston. (Both of these distinguished ministers have promised to attend the Confgrence and speak if possible. In the event of neither of them being present, one of the ablest men in attendance at the Conference will be chosen to fill the hour.)

Closing Words by the General Secretary.

All Socialist ministers and other experienced Socialist speakers who can remain in Pittsburg over Sunday, April 24, to speak in churches should at once notify Rev. Wm. A. Prosser, McKees Rocks, Pa.

All delegates and visitors to the Conference who desire free lodging and breakfast each day in the homes of comrades should write immediately to Mrs. Wm. Adams, Wilkinsburg, Pa. The Entertainment Committee will meet all delegates at the Second Presbyterian Church Thursday, April 21, at 2 p. m. and afterwards. Come right to the church.

And let everyone attend the Conference who can possibly do so.

It Is Not Too Late

Have you sent your Annual Offering for the General Fund of the Christian Socialist Fellowship? Has your Center done [illegible] It is not yet too late. If you have not done s[illegible] it to Rev. W. A. Ward, Seventh Avenue Hotel, Pittsburg, Pa., so it will reach him before Conference closes, April 24.

Personal Liberty

The Liquor Dealers invariably make their strongest appeal to the people on the basis of "personal liberty" to drink or not to drink, and thus they inflame many with a false argument. But their PRACTICE with reference to the "personal liberty" of other folks demonstrates their own consummate hypocrisy. They may excite dissipated men and fools with their cry of "personal liberty," but it is MONEY ONLY they are after, and they will destroy the "personal liberty" and power of millions of men by strong drink and ruin the business of others by a relentless boycott in the interest of their degrading business.

Having boasted in large type in paid advertisements that they were glad to have the issue of license or no license submitted in Chicago and that they were eager for the fray, they spent tens of thousands of dollars to get the anti-saloon petition discredited and the question thrown off the ballot. And it was thrown off by illegal means characteristic of the Liquor Dealers. Thousands of men signed the petition who had duly registered at their last voting place, but had moved since and *had been given no opportunity to register in their new precincts*, as the petition closed before the next registration day. Thus they were unjustly disfranchised. And a servile election board, such as always favors the Liquor interests and other "big business," *delayed its decision until it was too late to appeal* and then threw the saloon question off the ballot. And thus the people of Chicago, after 75,000 had petitioned, were denied the "personal liberty" to express themselves at the polls—all in the interests of "personal liberty" of liquor dealers to debauch our sons and daughters "for revenue only."

These hypocritical advocates of "personal liberty" have again demonstrated their corruption and falsehood and laid themselves liable to criminal prosecution by posting the names of all signers of the anti-saloon petition in their several wards and urging all friends of the Liquor Trade to boycott them. The Anti-Saloon League should enter wholesale prosecutions against them for this. People are not to be allowed by these bloated apostles of "personal liberty" even to sign a petition without danger of being driven out of town by starvation.

Great is "personal liberty" of the Liquor men!

But this is not an age of "personal liberty;" it is an age of SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY, and the SALOON MUST GO.

* * *

Mr. Louis F. Post, the noted Single Taxer, comments in the *Public* as follows upon the "Menace of the Saloon in Chicago":

"Anti-saloon leaders in Chicago are to be congratulated upon the rejection of their petition for a referendum at the election next week. An adverse result at the polls was almost a foregone conclusion, so poorly had the agitation been conducted on their part, and so effectively on the part of the distilling and brewing ring. This ring had appealed plausibly to 'tax payers', and your ordinary real estate tax payer, in Chicago as elsewhere, will tolerate almost any public immorality, not even excluding houses of prostitution, if it is so located as not to depreciate *his* property and so licensed as to lessen *his* taxes. Yet the liquor ring dared not risk the test. They know that there are many voters in Chicago who, while averse to sumptuary legislation, would nevertheless vote against the saloon combine as being a menace to political freedom. Even now this characteristic is in one particular brazenly displayed. The names of signers of the referendum petition are posted by the liquor ring, with the avowed purpose of injuring them. Of course, it cannot injure a man socially to be posted as opposed to saloons; but it may injure him in business or in politics, for it advertises him as hostile to the powerful liquor ring, and the tentacles of this civic devil fish reach out into every political precinct and suck sustenance from every business neighborhood. The posting of those names is in line with the policy of coercion and intimidation which the liquor ring pursues toward public officials. It is now extending the policy to the voter, a person hardly worth coercing when referendums are not afoot, but the only person who is worth coercing when they are afoot. But on the whole it is a good thing that the election board have complacently obeyed the liquor ring with reference to the referendum petition of this year. It gives to those opposed to the political nuisance and menace which the saloon has come to be, an opportunity to make a better fight next fall or next spring. Meanwhile it exposes the menacing character of the liquor ring more plainly and indicates its power over officialdom more definitely."

* * *

The *Chicago Daily Socialist* fires this hot and heavy editorial shot at the Chicago Liquor "Liberty" Ring just after said "Ring" was through advertising its infernal falsehoods for a large amount of cold cash in the *Daily:*

"Those who were foolish enough to think that the United Societies stand for 'personal liberty,' except the personal liberty to make profits by selling alcoholic liquors, will now have an opportunity to revise their opinion. This organization has had the colossal impudence to post the names of those who signed the referendum petition in the localities where the signers live and to accompany this public posting with the suggestion that the signers are to be boycotted. This petition asked only that the voters have a chance to express their opinion upon a question on which there is certainly a decided difference of opinion. Do the United Societies propose to terrorize those who dare to ask for such a vote? This piece of impudence and tyranny is but illustrative of the forces that are behind the 'wet' campaign. It is probably a good thing that the question is not to be on the ballot this spring. It will bring other and more important issues to the front. But when any body of profit-seeking politicians propose to intimidate those who dare to ask for a referendum it is time for the character of such a gang to be thoroughly recognized."

Ward's Good Work

Siverly, Pa.

Dear Comrade Carr: Rev. W. A. Ward made a special trip here from Baltimore and held two meetings. In point of attendance they were fair, but for results I must say that he is the best we have ever had here. He organized a center here with eleven members, and the prospects are very bright for a large organization. We are making arrangements to have Comrade Ward with us for a week before he goes west.

C. E. Martin.

Dr. O'Malley Dead

It is with deep regret that we note the death of Mr. Charles J. O'Malley, Litt. D., editor of the (Catholic) *New World*. Dr. O'Malley was a rabid and reckless opponent of Socialism, under the misapprehension that it would injure religion and the home; yet he was the most brilliant and versatile editor whose paper found its way to our desk. Even his most provoking misrepresentations were delicious for their eloquent abandon and striking figures of speech; and some of his writings prove that he was a Socialist at heart, though his head was yet out of harmony with us. And he wrote some exquisite prose-poetry and worthy verse. He leaves a wife and nine children, besides many intimate friends and thousands of admirers to mourn his loss. We sincerely sorrow with them, and with them hope to meet him in full harmony and joy hereafter.

Mrs. Carr's Lecture Dates

On her way to and from the Christian Socialist Fellowship Conference at Pittsburg, Mrs. Ella Carr will lecture under the auspices of the Socialist comrades at Wakarusa, Ind., April 17; Mishawaka, Ind., April 18; Fremont, Ind., April 19; Lorain, O., April 20; Youngstown, O., April 24; Bellefontaine, O., April 25, and Montpelier, O., April 26.

CRITICISMS AND COMMENTS
On the Sex Articles

(Of course we cannot print all the letters that come on this subject, but we have printed all the adverse criticisms that have reached us since this discussion began, except two which were rather lengthy, and based on the incredible supposition that we had advocated purity for women and "free-love" for men. And as we have printed letters from many men and women, laymen, ministers and priests of all creeds and ranks, including atheist and Catholic, it is amazing that the chorus is so harmonious in praise of the articles. These articles are but a suggestion of what the book will be. Remember that adverse criticisms are as welcome and as helpful as praises.)

The Other Fellow's Girl

West Newbury, Mass., Dec. 8, 1909.

To the Editor—In a recent issue of your paper, dated Nov. 15, in an article entitled "Socialism and Sex," occurs this paragraph:

"The same Socialist principle that will protect people from want of food by forbidding wealth-monopoly, will protect them from want of mates by forbidding sex-monopoly. Each will be free to find and love his own, but not the other fellow's!"

This immediately suggests the following questions, which must be answered before any such theory as that above quoted can be established:

(1st) How can every person have *one* (and *only one*) mate, when the two sexes are unequal in numbers, as is *almost sure* to be the case? Would not this be a mathematical impossibility?—for the same reason that in a dancing class consisting of *forty boys* and *twenty girls*, it would be impossible for every boy to have a girl partner simultaneously?

2d) How can each one be free to have his chosen mate (*but not the other fellow's*) when the "other fellow" *chooses the same girl*, as might frequently be the case? And who would have the authority to determine which of the two men should have her? If this question is to be decided by any *board of officers*, or even by *a vote of the people*, would not some compulsion be thereby exerted to prevent one or the other of the two men from obtaining his desired mate? And if the question is to be decided by *the girl herself*, wherein would such a system differ, in this particular, from the one now in vogue?

Herbert N. Carleton.

When the above letter first arrived the editor thought it was meant only for fun; but when it failed to receive attention in the first batch of criticisms, we received another letter which indicated that the questioner is very much in earnest about having a reply. Therefore, we venture to say:

1. The sexes are not unequal enough in numbers to bother about, considering the nation or the world at large. Under Socialism the slaughter of men by war and machinery will cease almost entirely and the men will approximately equal the women. *If not, we can make it so;* for the mystery of sex differentiation is by no means fathomless. Besides there will probably always be a considerable number of people below the average of sex-desire, as there are now, who would not care to marry, which would afford a margin of variation tending to sex-equilibrium. Under Socialism economic reasons would not cause thousands of New England women and thousands of Western men to pine for mates in vain. They could afford to get together then.

2. This young fellow may yet learn to his sorrow that it is "man who proposes and woman who disposes." We hope he may learn it without a lesson so severe. The girl will not belong to any fellow until he wins her love. Even under Socialism there may be some poor fellow sighing for what he cannot get, like a dog baying at the beautiful moon. But if a man has half-sense, when he finds the girl loves another fellow and intends to marry him, he will soothe his wounded spirit in the balm of another woman's love. And if he is such a chump that he cannot win any woman's love—he will have to "grin and bear it" the best he can. Socialism does not guarantee that a man shall be able to win a wife. It only guarantees that he shall be able to afford one wife if he can win her!

3. Yes, "The girl herself" must decide; and the difference between Socialism and capitalism is that, under the former the girl would not need to decide to marry anyone for a home, a livelihood or a position in "sawciety." *She could then afford to remain single if she wanted to*, with no fear of want or shame. And, if she wanted to marry, *she could afford to marry for love alone*, not for a home or wealth. Wouldn't that be difference enough to make any sensible woman or man favor Socialism?

A Woman's Pointed Question

Rockville, Ind.

Dear Comrade—In the first place, I want to say that your "Church of Christ" special was splendid, and the two articles on the editorial page entitled "Faith and Martyrdom" and "God's Kingdom on Earth" were exceptionally so; in fact, I believe them both worthy frequent repetition.

What are the Presbyterians doing? Have you ever gotten out a Presbyterian special? Are they remaining stationary in the background and permitting all other denominations to pass them by in this great international movement to make possible a universal Christianity?

The Feb. 1 issue of the CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST at hand and, as usual, it is fine. The comments on the sex articles rank in interest second only to the articles themselves. Please do not consign many communications to the waste basket. I believe our first real vision of what the home life, in its higher development, can be and *will* be, comes with that illuminating light which an understanding of Socialism casts upon all things past and present as well as that which is to come.

One could almost regret that their span of earthly existence comes at a period which must necessarily deprive them of a participation in the genuine ideal home life which will be possible under Socialism.

The constant fear of additional parenthood which is found in every home of intelligent parents where the financial income is not sufficient to supply the many needs of the new arrival, which lessens just so much their ability to do the right thing by those they may already have, is in itself a disturbing element in the ideal marriage relation.

In fact, I believe it cannot be present and that union be all that it should be. Under such conditions it is ofttimes as much as a bargain to bring this nine month period of battling with "the fates that be" to a close in time to meet the new arrival with a welcome even this late in the day.

While reading your articles this not altogether improbable situation came to mind and I would appreciate your opinion through the columns of the CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST if you deem it of sufficient general interest. As you say, marriage is not a union of the body alone, but of mental and I believe ofttimes moral qualities as well. In view of which, suppose a married couple, after a number of years together, find increasing mental inequalities—one party having remained practically stationary as far as mental growth is concerned, while the mental qualifications of the other have shown continual growth and development—each new truth learned having but increased the desire to go deeper and farther, thereby gleaning from out the realms of history the good, the true and the beautiful. Realizing that constant effort directed toward the realization of this desire for mental advancement but widens the gulf between them and having a natural aversion toward living a life which embodies anything short of one's best effort—under such circumstances, wherein would lie one's duty?

There is something repulsive in the marriage relation where any marked mental inequalities exist. In such a case, should one strive toward progression regardless of the inharmonious domestic atmosphere which this course would naturally produce? Socialism would have no direct bearing upon such situations save in the sense that most marriages can then be founded upon true love and mental congeniality, which does not so often happen under capitalistic rule when we are frequently but creatures of untoward circumstance.

Yours for the coming revolution,

(Mrs.) Lottie J. C. Edwards.

We have issued one Presbyterian Special Edition, but it is out of print. We hope to have another before this year is gone. The Presbyterian ministers are among the most progressive concerning the social question.

The relentless question about intellectual incompatibility points to numberless tragedies in marriage to-day. But under Socialism nearly all of them will be prevented by universal education and by the fact that none will need to marry for a home or any other motives than adaptability and love. Our present purpose is to conclude this series of articles in two more chapters on "Conjugal Adaptation" and "Monogamy and Divorce," which will probably cause more comment than any other chapters. Therefore we will not anticipate these chapters by attempting fully to answer Mrs. Edwards' important question now. Of course, we will permit the critics to have another broadside at us after these articles are finished.

Jolted Again

In our last we quoted the remark of Mrs. A. D. F. concerning the "revolting" character of our articles, and now she jolts us again as follows:

I am waiting to see how many will write to protest against your loathsome mess of pottage for which so many seem willing to sell their birthright. Like Mr. Rockefeller, you seem not to blush in using the name of Christ; and of all Paul's sayings you show no hesitancy in selecting those which most degrade woman. I wish to say that you have given me a contempt for what you term "the average man" sufficient to make me doubt his ability to run any form of government so as to be just to women and children. In other words, you have shaken my faith in Socialism very seriously. No form of government is worth anything unless it is run by clean men.—Addie M. Fries, San Diego, Cal.

We protest that Mrs. Fries has not fairly understood or interpreted our teachings. As to St. Paul, we quoted his sane, practical advice to marry. Does Mrs. Fries really believe that the blessed, God-ordained relation between man and wife degrades either the man or the woman?

SURE. No Socialist believes that the average man is fit to "govern women and children" without the assistance of the woman. We all stand for Woman Suffrage and full equality.

Shall we have absolute anarchy, no government, until government is "run by clean men," or shall we do the best possible with the material at hand until we can produce better? Socialism will speedily provide better, we trust; at least a better *method* of government ought to help us "mere men" to improve, with the assistance and consolation of good women. But it is clearly evident that Mrs. Fries has not yet caught our viewpoint and the meaning of our remarks on sex, particularly on men. She should read the articles over again more carefully and judge them more discriminatingly. She surely does not mean to accuse us of advocating uncleanness for men! We advocate absolute purity for both men and women; but we appeal to God, Nature, the Bible and human experience to decide what is pure—and we know it is useless to expect such purity to become general while the blight of the profit system is on mankind. We want Socialism, so that people may be normal, virtuous, free and happy, according to the will of God expressed in Nature and the Blessed Book. What more could the wisest, purest woman desire?

Intellectually Purified

Editor Christian Socialist, Chicago, Ill.:

Dear Sir—I never knew I was a "shouting" Methodist until I commenced reading your articles on "Socialism and Sex." A dozen times or more I have wanted to shout "Amen, Amen." That seemed the only appropriate expression, and I can not imagine how any person could think such articles "revolting."

I truly believe if more women would read those articles, and everything in the CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST, there would be just that many happier homes. I expect to get your book when it is printed. Very often after reading the C. S. I feel intellectually purified.

Mrs. M., of Iowa.

R. F. D. has evidently missed our article on the "Man Fit for Marriage," which appeared in the Feb. 15 number. It is quite possible that the girl who measures up to our March 1 article will find a man who meets our requirements of that of Feb. 15. We shall help R. F. D. all we possibly can to banish the ideal and practice of "free-love" from among men as well as women.

Your articles on "Sex and Socialism" are fine. They must do good. Your comrade, (Rev.) Geo. W. Slater, Jr., Aurora, Neb.

I think you are surely winning new and valuable influence by printing, as you do, the adverse criticisms as well as the praise for your Sex articles. It is a brave and true stand that you take with reference to the place and purpose of conjugal intercourse.—Rev. Eliot White.

Increase of Population

Moscow, Idaho.

Dear Sir—I am an enthusiastic reader of your magazine, and especially do I enjoy your articles on "Socialism and Sex."

There is but one question in my mind concerning the ideal society, or "grand man."

Under these conditions the population would increase at a tremendously *increasing* rate. In the course of a few generations it would resolve itself into a question of exhaustion of the natural resources. If not soon, it would not be delayed long.

Would the individual family for the common weal be compelled to limit its offspring to such a number as would balance the death rate, or would some other force or influence step in and regulate this matter?

Chas. Brown.

Increase of population is influenced by many things. In very cold climates and in high altitudes the sex-desire and fertility are greatly reduced. The longer the individuals of a race live in health the fewer comparatively their offspring. Beings of an hour reproduce themselves multitudinously, while the long-lived elephant and woman reproduce themselves infrequently. There is a natural relation between the NEED of rapid reproduction and the POWER of it. As humanity becomes healthier, stronger, more self-controlled and longer-lived reproduction will doubtless adjust itself according to this mysterious natural wisdom.

The liberal supply of food, shelter and peace, in present circumstances, tends to increase the birth-rate among working peoples. In Germany, France and other European countries, owing largely to the difficulty of making a living, families are very small, both among wage-workers and middle class people, so much so that they speak of the "two-family nations," meaning only two children to a family. But when French or German working people come to America, where living is relatively easier, they dare have larger families.

The native Americans, however, have smaller families than they used to because subsistence is relatively much harder and more precarious for them than formerly.

Under Socialism people can afford to have as many children as they want; but there are checks to child-bearing besides mere poverty. In dire poverty the consolations of sex fellowship are almost all that a married pair have, which naturally causes them to indulge too carelessly, and thus large families come into being without serious purpose; unless, as it sometimes happens, poor parents seek for a large family in their prime in order that they may have care for themselves in their old age. A large family is the only chance of an old age pension for most Americans.

But as married people climb out of the depths of poverty and slavery they have many other joys besides those of sex. They become more intelligent and careful in the use of their common treasures. They dread the inconvenience and responsibility of children more and their families become smaller. Among the well-to-do and rich families are not large because large families are not wanted.

Under Socialism woman will be economically free. She will not be compelled to submit to unbridled lust either in the brothel or in the home *because she has no other means of support*. She will be complete master of herself—and in such a case there is not much danger of her incurring the burden of child-production, the pains of birth and the responsibility of a new life without deliberate purpose. In the wise and proper use of the sex-functions conception does not occur by accident. And we may confidently leave the adjustment of the birth-rate to future society. It is not necessary to starve and enslave mankind to keep the race prolific, nor to prevent it becoming too much so.

However, as the world is fertile enough to maintain hundreds of times more people than now dwell on it, and as methods of food production are continualy improving, it would not hurt if the population were to increase largely under future society, though the probabilities are that it will not.

Individual and Social Salvation Again

St. Joseph, Mo., Jan. 7, 1910.

Dear Sir—Your articles on "Socialism and Sex" are certainly very appropriate and timely, and perfectly proper even in a "family paper." I like them among the best of your writings. Your replies to criticisms on these articles are for the most part *fine*. Like all radical men, however, you *will* go to extremes. When you say the "salvation by individuals plan has signally failed," I think you said what you did not mean; for it is the Master's plan, and that you overlooked, I think. Again you say it is "no use at all of their posing as followers of Jesus." Now, my dear sir, I do not think you will question for a moment that some as sincere, earnest and true Christians as you or I, or any other Socialist can be, are living and working for the Master and the cause of humanity to-day, and yet do not or have not yet embraced Socialism.

Your words appear to say, if a person professes to be a Christian and yet does not look at Socialism as I do, "there is no use of his posing, etc."

I do wish you and all other preachers of righteousness could be temperate in speech and act.

N. R. Adriance.

Brother Adriance's letter plays on possible points of difference in definition. What is "salvation"? We have already admitted, over and over again, in this paper the power of individual salvation from sin, in the usual sense, though I do not know many shining examples of it. Individual salvation in the midst of our industrial, commercial and social inferno is a rare thing in fact—however common in profession. Individual salvation *for people in general* will be forever impossible under a system of graft and brutality, where all are more or less crushed, defiled and cursed by un-Christian method and environment.

In the statements referred to I was opposing the outworn folly of attempting *social* salvation by *mere individual* means. The idea that the world will be saved *in the midst of and under the reign of Mammon* by the method of "saving" individuals is what we are opposing. This idea was always foolish—it is now *vicious*, because it is used to deceive good people with a false hope and so prevent them from attempting *social* remedies for *social* ills.

I did not intimate that unless one has "embraced Socialism" there is "no use at all of his posing as a follower of Christ." I said (see issue of Feb. 1, page 7, 1st column):

"The method of individual salvation has had thousands of years of trial, and has signally failed, because the life and ethics of Christianity are incompatible with the competitive system of graft and tyranny. *When "Christian" people once seriously undertake to put Christ's teachings into general practice in business and government they will find that their task is identical with the task of the Socialists on the economic and political fields.* AND UNTIL THEY DO SERIOUSLY AND GENERALLY UNDERTAKE TO PUT CHRIST'S TEACHINGS INTO PRACTICE IN ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL SYSTEMS THERE IS NO USE AT ALL OF THEIR POSING AS FOLLOWERS OF JESUS. The world at large has lost faith and interest in those who profess Christianity, because their profession is not backed up by the deeds of moral and economic revolution that Christ and His apostles preached."

And we stand by the statement. One may not be a Socialist, according to any party platform, BUT HE MUST STRIVE FOR SOCIAL SALVATION, if he expects respect as a professor of Christianity.

"The salvation by individuals plan" HAS signally failed—EVEN FROM THE INDIVIDUAL VIEWPOINT. This does not mean that none have been saved individually—though how any one can feel *himself* to be truly saved *while surrounded by multitudes in hell*, I do not understand.

But SO FEW ARE SAVED, even in the conventional sense, that, after two thousand years, it is time to challenge the method.

Sam Jones used to say to the preachers: "If I had fished in one hole for an hour (not to say for a year!) and had caught nothing, I'd either change *holes* or change *bait*." And after ages of comparative failure we declare it is time for the church to change bait.

We mean this plainly. THERE IS NO SUCH THING AS INDIVIDUAL SALVATION TAUGHT IN THE SCRIPTURE AS IS CURRENTLY PREACHED TO-DAY. We must have both individual and social salvation, *but when the attempt is made to separate the former from the latter it becomes a delusion and a snare.* A SELFISH "individual salvation" is certain *damnation*, if the Old Book is true. Such petty souls are not worth saving—they cannot be saved until they are enlarged with the spirit of [illegible] salvation.

And if the church will seriously attempt the task, it will find the way.

And if the church really believes in individual salvation in spite of and in the midst of a social inferno, why doesn't it do something worth while at the job? Nay, friends, the cry of "individual salvation" to-day is not a *reason*—it is *a mere excuse, and utterly futile.*

I believe in individual salvation. By the grace of God, I win ten times more souls to the Christian life each year than the average minister, though this work is only incidental to my main task. And nothing makes me so sick as to hear a preacher *who hasn't won a soul to God in six months and evidently does not intend to if he can help it* prate about "individual salvation." From all such, "Good Lord, deliver us!"

It is becoming more and more apparent that those who are most active in behalf of *social* salvation, as Socialists, Prohibitionists, social settlement workers, etc., are also the most active and effective for individual salvation. The two must go together.

Financial Statement Christian Socialist Fellowship, March, 1910.

RECEIPTS.

Cash, March 1, Gen. Sec.	$ .81	
Cash, March 1, Gen. Treas.	7.10	
		$ 7.91
Dues, Centres	$ 4.60	
Dues, at large	12.15	
	$ 16.75	
Literature	7.35	
Subs, C. S.	6.50	
Supplies	3.15	
	33.75	
Lecture work, Gen. Sec.		176.17
On General Fund, by Treas.		13.00
On Annual April Offering, by Treasurer		80.40
		$311.23

EXPENDITURES.

Postage, money orders, telegrams	$ 3.58	
Printed supplies	3.50	
Literature	2.97	
Sub cards, C. S.	5.00	
Account book	1.25	
Payment on typewriter	5.00	
	$ 21.30	
Traveling expenses Gen. Sec.	105.82	
Salary, Gen. Sec.	100.00	
	$227.12	
Balance in Gen. Sec.'s office		.71
Balance in Gen. Treas.'s office		83.40
		$311.23

Amount due on Secretary's salary, previous months $111.00

Rev. Wm. A. Ward, Gen. Secretary.
Harvey P. Moyer, Gen. Treasurer.

The Torch of Liberty

"Raise the Torch of Liberty!" is the cry of John Spargo's thrilling Socialist song, one of the best. Music by Platon Brunoff. It is one of the several new songs in the Fifth Edition of Moyer's Songs of Socialism, which is now on the press. Many thousands of these books have been sold—it has no equal; 128 pages of words and music. Price, paper cover, 15c; eight copies for $1. In beautiful crimson cloth cover, 25c; five copies for $1; twelve for $2.25. Every Socialist should have one. Every branch should have a dozen or more. THE MOVEMENT NEEDS MUSIC. Here it is.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

BY GEORGE H. STROBELL,
8 Lincoln Park, Newark, N. J.

The present lecture tour of Eugene V. Debs presents the most remarkable of all the meetings ever addressed by him. With no particular campaign to enthuse the workers, with no chance of making big money for campaign expenses by admission fees, the largest halls in all our big cities have been crowded to suffocation and overflow meetings the rule. They have been generally protest meetings, taking in three subjects. The indictment and trial of Warren, editor of the Appeal to Reason; the verdict of the court in the Gompers boycott case, and the awarding of damages in the Danbury hatters' case. In many places organized labor sent representatives to work with the Socialists on the committees in charge of the meetings. Every one buying a ticket of admission at 25c received a forty weeks' subscription to the Appeal to Reason, and from these meetings and the general hustling of its friends this paper has increased its subscription list in a most tremendous fashion so that the 400,000 mark is probably reached by the time you read this. The Appeal editors should remember that the paper goes to thousands of new readers constantly and should describe clearly what Socialism is in every number. Socialists who read the paper would not mind seeing space used in this way.

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Enthusiastic reports of increasing interest in Socialism are pouring into the national headquarters of the Socialist party at Chicago from every section of the country. The party workers declare that never in their recollection has there been such general inquiries about literature and methods of organization as at present.

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It turns out that over thirty Socialists were elected in Allegheny County, Pa. (Pittsburg district), in the recent municipal elections. The old politicians are dumbfounded by the political revolt.

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A call for nominations for delegates to the International Socialist Congress at Copenhagen, Denmark, next August, has been issued and nomination blanks for that purpose have been shipped from the national office of the Socialist party to the respective party divisions. There will be about twelve delegates from the United States.

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The big fight for free speech at Spokane, Wash., has been won by the I. W. W. The city council agreed to pass a reasonable ordinance to regulate street speak[illegible] The fight started Nov. 2, when numerous ar[illegible] were made, and has continued fiercely up to two weeks ago, when the authorities began to back down. Scores of men and women had been arrested, fined and thrown in jail, and the struggle became a national interest. Hundreds of volunteers were preparing to flock to Spokane this spring and had [illegible] the town if necessary to enforce the right[illegible] free speech and public assemblage. All were prepared to go to jail and were to be furnished with food by the I. W. W. Then the politicians and their police abdicated. All property that was confiscated was returned. A large number of papers, documents, charters and even furniture of the hall used by the organization, seized by the police, was replaced. Officers and speakers who were locked up in jail were liberated. The order prohibiting property owners from renting halls to the organization was removed. And now peace reigns once more.—Cleveland Citizen.

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But no sooner does trouble cease at one point than it begins elsewhere. Backed by the steel trust magnates the politicians in power at New Castle, Pa., are doing everything possible to destroy the Socialist papers, Solidarity and Free Press, and crush the strike of the tinplate workers. Fourteen editors and contributors of the papers have been arrested upon the technical charge of refusing to publish the names of all owners, managers and editors in the foregoing publications. Few papers in Pennsylvania observe the law, which is one of those freak enactments that are passed to be enforced only in special cases. The workers say they will never surrender but go to jail rather than suspend their publications.

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At the last annual congress of the British Labor party the policy was clearly outlined regarding the House of Lords, which is that the latter body must go. If the Liberals temporize with this issue the Labor party will attack the Liberals. They also want ballot reform and a free vote for everybody. Thousands of workers are disfranchised because they pay below a minimum of rent or accepted charity at some period in their lives or are compelled to roam about looking for employment, while capitalists and the nobility are permitted to vote in as many places as they own land. To show how unfair the districting is done it is only necessary to mention that while the Labor-Socialist combine polled 522,000 votes and won 41 seats in Parliament, the Irish or Nationalist party cast but 123,000 votes and hold 83 seats in Parliament. On the latter basis there ought to be about 350 Labor and Socialist members in Parliament. It's time that this ballot reform be made the chief issue in English politics.

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Upon the occasion of celebrating his 70th birthday August Bebel, the great Socialist leader of Germany,